CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE STATE OF

PUBLIC AFFAIRS,

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR MDCCXCVIII.

PART THE FIRST.

FRANCE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
" CONSIDERATIONS, &c. at the Beginning of the Year 1796."

APPARET DOMUS INTUS ET ATRIA LONGA PATESCUNT.

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The Second Part is in the Preſs;

CONTAINING

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON

PEACE,

AND THE PROJECT FOR ITS

CONCLUSION

AT

LILLE.

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CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

IT is now two years ſince I attempted to diſentangle the war from that labyrinth of fanaticiſm and folly, in which its cauſes and its objects were loſt or confounded, and to bring back the minds of men to the plain trodden path of common ſenſe and experience. It appeared deſirable at that time to ſeparate the cauſes of the war from the doctrines of the French revolution, and the objects of it from the eſtabliſhment of any particular form of government in France. It appeared important to ſhew, that we were ſtruggling for power inſtead of opinions, and for our commerce and marine, to which our

independence is attached, inſtead of fanciful ſpeculations, and notions of piety and abſtract virtue, to which it is impoſſible for two men to attach the ſame ideas of right or importance. I wiſhed to ſhew the earth over-run rather than corrupted, and the fences of nations thrown down by cannon and ſoldiers, inſtead of governments diſturbed by novelties and philoſophers; to diſperſe the fog and vapour of metaphyſics, and let the light fall upon the real barriers of Europe, thrown down or removed by the perfidy of treaties, and the violence of arms; to remind men of antient limits, of territorial rights, of national liberty and national character; and to hold up to view the monſtrous ambition of the enemy, which has drugged every folly, and pointed every crime.

I know I have had, and have ſtill, the misfortune to differ from great authority, but even now that the queſtion is come to the impend-

impending moment of deciſion, and that we are about to fight, perhaps in our own court-yards, for all that is dear to us; I cannot ſee any reaſon to induce me to change that opinion. I confeſs it is not now the French revolution that I dread, but the French greatneſs. I would to the full as willingly behold the country conquered by the legions of the republic, as by thoſe of Lewis the Fourteenth. It is not the form of government in France, it is not her atheiſm, her ſpirit of plunder and cruelty, but France herſelf, that I hold up as the object of juſt apprehenſion; and they who maintain the oppoſite doctrine would do well, I think, to conſider, whether it does not follow, from their mode of reaſoning, that under her antient form, and her old principles, we might now ſubmit to her pretenſions, and receive the law from her. For if it be not her power and uſurpations againſt which we are contending, but certain tenets and principles of hers, it appears to

me, that if it were not for these tenets, we might consent to those usurpations; and that we might behold the enormous increase of her power, without apprehension or interest, if it were not made or maintained by these principles. But I, for one, will never fight with the colour of her cockade; and if it were the fate of these warlike kingdoms, and this imperial crown, to acknowledge a master, (which may never be) I would rather that it were such an one as this, who should crush and extirpate us at a blow, than the politic tyrant, who might spare us for his triumph, or incorporate us with his slaves. I consider conquest as a full and final consummation of things, beyond which my eye and my imagination cannot pierce. I see nothing beyond, nothing susceptible of alternative and discrimination. All the display and circumstance of terror, with which a Jacobin conqueror can surround himself, cannot add a single motive to a free and generous bosom, for a mortal resistance,

ſiſtance, which it would not have felt, if the ſame troops had been led by a Turenne or a Condé. I would rather rouze the ſpirit of the country than its fears; and I diſdain to treat a nation of ſoldiers like a little garriſon, animated indeed to a brave reſiſtance, but capable of being worn out, and capitulating at the laſt. It is not quite certain that we have not too much diſclaimed ambition; I do not know that the ſpirit of the people would not be higher, if we had announced ſome brilliant enterprize, ſome proud and lofty conditions of peace, than it appears even now to be for its own laſt and neceſſary defence—now that we have puſhed our moderation to the extreme, and purged, by ſo many embaſſies, our cauſe from the ſuſpicion of any of thoſe aſpiring views, with which the enemy, upon his part, endeavours to arouze and enrage his people. I would not, at leaſt, have the juſtice and humility of our cauſe, diminiſh our confidence in ourſelves, nor the threats

and vaunts of the enemy, exclude our knowledge and true eſtimation of him.

I ſhall endeavour, therefore, to throw ſome light upon the internal poſition of France, for the combined purpoſe of conſidering both the means ſhe poſſeſſes of inflicting farther injury in the continued proſecution of the war upon this country, and the probability of a civil war ariſing in her own boſom, to intercept any part of the injury this country ſeems prepared to inflict upon herſelf, by a premature and inadequate peace.

I ſhall firſt conſider the probability of the civil war, which, according to ſome of our ſtateſmen, is about to revenge the cauſe of Europe and humanity, and to deliver the ſeveral ſtates that compoſe that great community, and the reſpective orders and claſſes of ſociety, from all the dangers of the war and of the peace.—This part of the ſubject would naturally

naturally embrace the whole of the moral poſition of France; but I ſhall purpoſely abſtain from a great part of a complicated and difficult queſtion, and from every topic, however intereſting, which does not appear to me to affect, or entitled to affect, directly and immediately, theſe great political conſiderations which occupy the public mind. Upon many points of fact I do not pretend to certainty, but hope I have attained a pretty near approximation: the inferences I ſhall generally leave to the reflection of that part of the public, whom I wiſh for my readers. The ſervility of the French preſs during the laſt four months, together with the ſuppreſſion of their journals, has accumulated my doubts and my difficulties. But, the ſituation of the country, according to the beſt information I have been able to obtain, ſeems to me ſo little underſtood in the public, and ſo much miſunderſtood elſewhere, that I may allow ſome latitude for miſtake, before I can

have

have to reproach myſelf with having, by any overſight or error of mine, inclined opinion more out of the right way than it ſeems to be at preſent, or with leaving it more miſtaken or uncertain than I find it. I examine the volcano after the 4th of September, 1797: ſince that time it has ſcarce been heard to rumble, notwithſtanding the conſtant belief of an approaching exploſion.

The events of that day have very generally, but, I apprehend, not very accurately, been conſidered as a revolution. To me they appear, I confeſs, to be equivalent to a counter-revolution, in favour of the party and politics that were ſuppreſſed ſo ſuddenly upon the 9th of Thermidor*, 1794. The conteſt at that time lay between the commune of Paris (headed by Roberſpierre, Couthon, and St. Juſt, the triumvirate of that day) and the majority of the legiſlative body, which the extraordinary energy of Tallien had very un-

* 28th July.

expectedly

expectedly caused to declare itself against the executive directory in the Hotel-de-Ville.—The legislature, it is well known, triumphed over the triumvirate in 1794, and the unfortunate Robespierre, whose fate must now be regarded as untimely, was led to the scaffold. As his memory will now, doubtless, be restored, and his apotheosis celebrated in the Pantheon, it may not be improper to remember, that the ebullition which proved so fatal to him was sudden and unconcerted, and that its consequences did not fall with severity upon his ministers and agents. A few, indeed, were sacrificed to the new idol *Moderation*; but the great body of his instruments were either too powerful in the state, or too intimately connected with the convention itself, to be sacrificed to a phantom. When that assembly had leisure to pause upon the revolution it had effected, it was frightened at its novel position: some events at Lyons and Marseilles of a revolutionary complexion, and

the maſſacres in the priſons and convents of Paris, in September, 1792, recurred even to the memory of Tallien, the hero of their body, and whiſpered him, that it was not yet time for a general reſponſibility and atonement. The agents of Roberſpierre, beſides the common cauſe which they had with the convention, had another defence of nearly equal efficacy, for they were regarded as inſtruments of government, that is to ſay, of terror, which could not be parted with. One or other, and for the moſt part, both of theſe cauſes have operated ever ſince in favour of the jacobins, and, under one name or other, preſerved and maintained them at the right-hand of every conſtitution that has taken place. They were a part of the ſcaffolding of every ſyſtem, and none have grown ſolid or ſecure enough to remove it. Hence the ignorant only, or unreflecting, were ſurprized that Barrère walked abroad, notwithſtanding his ſentence of baniſhment; that ſo many

murderers in groſs were acquitted; that Drouet conſpired and eſcaped. This is the ſecret of the walls of Paris, placarded by Babeuf; of the inſurrection of the Camp de Grenelle, and, in a word, of the general amneſty and impunity accorded to the Jacobins. Tallien, however, who, on the 29th of July, had, for want of any thing elſe, and without a preciſe idea or meaning, announced "Moderation," had been taken at his word by the departments, and now felt the neceſſity of compromiſing with their ſenſe of its import by a few examples. This dilemma, into which he had plunged, makes the whole period, between the 28th of July, 1794, and the 5th of October, 1795, (when the Abbé Syeyes came to his relief with the laſt conſtitution,) a period of apparent inconſiſtency and fickleneſs: during that year, the nation, unexpectedly emancipated from the fetters of Roberſpierre, fell back, by degrees, into republican anarchy, and the jacobins, whoſe diſtinctive mark and character of politics it is

to hate alike every fixed and ſettled ſtate or conſtitution, were induced only to change their adored and growing anarchy, for the directorial conſtitution, by the important bribe of two-thirds of their convention remaining in the legiſlature, and the election of Rewbell, Carnot, and Barras to the ſceptres at the Luxembourg.—During the reign of the directory, they have been treated with tenderneſs and diſtinction. The new ſovereign knew that forced loans, and aſſignats, and requiſitions, and taxes in kind, could be collected by no leſſer force than that of jacobins; hence he protected the rump of the old convention againſt the ſections of Paris, when they petitioned *, and againſt the new third, when it was returned by the departments; and hence, when, by a ſecond election, the departments poſſeſſed two-thirds in the legiſlature againſt one of the convention, he called the jacobins around him, and baniſhed by open force the majority that oppoſed him.

* 12th Vendemiaire, 1796.

This

This produced the event of the 4th of September, which was preciſely the reverſe of that of the 9th of Thermidor; in this, the executive triumvirate and the jacobin minority ſubdued the legiſlature, and the conſtitution: in the former, the repreſentatives of the people triumphed over the executive and the minority. The 4th of September, therefore, is a *counter*-revolution, and carried back the republic to the ſtate in which it was on the 8th of Thermidor, and in which it would have been on the 10th of Thermidor, 1794, if Roberſpierre had had the ſame fortune as Rewbell.—Upon the 4th of September the conſtitution periſhed, and the proviſional government returned, the laborious work of Syeyes unravelled and fell back.

——————ibi omnis
Effuſus labor atque immitis Rupta Tyrami
Fœdera——————

The conſtitution of the fifth year, ſince that period, has exiſted only becauſe France

was

was become incurious and indifferent to any conſtitution at all. Erected upon the ruin of the favourite ſyſtem of jacobiniſm, (that is to ſay, not a conſtitution but the want of one: a proviſional government, in which the implied exigency and danger of the ſtate permitted and legitimated every crime and every exceſs), the fabric of the fifth year had only to expire without an heir, or a teſtament, in order to leave the jacobins in poſſeſſion of the government with occupancy for their title, and proviſionality for their guide; this would gratify the utmoſt wiſhes of that party. There was no need of a new conſtitution, nor of a new form; nor of a new conveyance, nor a new title. The Abbé Syeyes was not called upon for a new work, or a reviſe, or a freſh edition of his old one? a very few *errata* would completely correct and adjuſt it *in uſum diei*. If for the guillotine we read Guiana, and for terror, half-terror (a new and happy word,

and

and worthy the vocabulary of the revolution,) his firſt favourite proviſional goſpel was reſtored in letter and ſpirit, and triumphant and confirmed by the miraculous converſion of the firſt hereſiarch Tallien, and the flight or exile of his ſchiſmatic diſciples.

Upon the 4th of September, therefore, the Convention reſumed its legitimate authority; out-voted for a moment by the two-thirds with which the departments had diluted its pure and genuine jacobiniſm, but, delivered by the ſalutary energy of the preſent triumvirate, it proceeded according to its antient method, ſubſtituting only the half ſyſtem for the whole, and tranſporting inſtead of beheading; with this variation, Barthelemi and Pichegru took the exact place of Briſſot and Vergniaud, juſt as Rewbell and Barras had taken that of Roberſpierre and Couthon. All the reſt followed according to precedent, except that the forms of trial were

were diſpenſed with all together, and the lawful minority of its own competent juriſdiction tranſported the unlawful majority. In every other reſpect, they acted the ſame ſcenes over again, and recited the ſame drama.

I muſt here beſtow a few words upon the half-terror, the half-ſmiling monſter of liberty, which has replaced the full viſage of the Meduſa. Whether the guillotine, like ſo many other faſhions, had been puſhed a little into the extreme, or had loſt ſome of its attractions, like other idols, by ſatiety and repetition, is uncertain; but of all the old friends and favourites of the Convention, it was alone neglected and forgotten at its reſtoration. Tranſportation had taken its place. It had been diſcovered, perhaps, that the axe defeated the purpoſes of a refined and curious vengeance, by the ſuddenneſs of its blow. The torrid ſands and vertical ſuns

of

of the ſouthern America, the pangs and longings of abſence, and the approaches of diſeaſe, gave taſte and poignancy to death. It dwelt upon the palate, it hung upon the ſenſe; the victim chewed the cud of diſſolution. The republic, therefore, in which the progreſs of ſcience and of morals was no longer checked, always tending to improvement, and advancing in diſcovery, had abandoned this vulgar inſtrument of a groſs and ſhort-ſighted revenge. She had thrown by the axe and Gothic ſword, and appeared clad in a graceful winning terror, adorned with Sicilian leaves and Athenian ſhells *; but, with inextinguiſhable partiality for *our* manufactures, ſhe compoſed her train of our Engliſh bills of attainder, forfeiture, and præmunire: tranſportation was the elegant novelty, the idol of the hour; not only the diſpatch of the little national window, but the ingenious ſurprize of the falſe-deck, and

* Report of the ex-biſhop Guy-Vernon, upon the oſtraciſm.

the intereſting criſis of a trial before a jury of executioners, gave way to the vengeance *à-la-mode*. Prieſts and nobles, commiſſaries and clerks, legiſlators and directors themſelves, were abſorbed in the common vortex, the impulſe was given to the public taſte, and nothing could withſtand it. The preſs itſelf, which had ſo often given the ton and law to faſhion, now felt its ſway, and obeyed in its turn. More than fifty journaliſts, with I know not how many proprietors, printers, tranſlators, authors, compoſitors, reporters, and retailers, now aſcended the iron-cage on wheels, which was facetiouſly called the Diligence of Guiana, and followed the generals, orators, and ſtateſmen, who had led the mode. A third convoy was prepared of returned prieſts and nobles, and the ſtraggling deputies, who had miſſed of places in the firſt; and, three months after*, the indiſcretion of ſixteen more newſpapers was puniſhed in the ſame ſummary and faſhionable manner.

* January, 1798.

The

The reſt of the half ſyſtem bore ſtill nearer marks of affinity to the whole one. The publick creditor was deprived, by an act of bankruptcy, of two-thirds of his capital, and the remainder it was propoſed to put into circulation by a paper payable to bearer; a meaſure which had all the features and family-likeneſs of the aſſignat. New domiciliary viſits took place, new plunder was announced in the tribunes *, and the commiſſaries and contractors were threatened, as the nobles and landed-proprietors had been before. New feaſts and orgies were promiſed to the people, who were enjoined, in return, to 'ſanculotize' with new ardour and brutality. "Thou," and "thee," and "citizen †," were reſtored to all their republican honours. The Chriſtian calendar was anathematized once more, and the de-

* Bentabole. Council 500. 5th and 6th September.

† Edict of the Directory, September 12.

cadi commanded to be kept, I had nigh ſaid, holy *. New bribes to the armies, new threats againſt England, new invaſions, new calumnies †, and new rancour; plots, libels, balloons, even Pitt and his gold, found their antient dignity and importance. The moſt inſignificant circumſtances fell back to the period of Roberſpierre's misfortune; his convention triumphed every where, his jacobins were re-admitted in the legiſlature, in the tribunals, in the adminiſtrations, in the diplomacy. Their cuſtom returned to the jailors, and, with the ſingle exception of the guillotine, which was alone treated with neglect or ingratitude, their eſſential rights were reſtored to the Fauxbourgs. Excepting the blood, the half ſyſtem was as perfect as the whole one, and the people of Paris were reſtored to every thing but their amuſements.

* Edict, September 12.

† Reſpecting the treatment of the priſoners.

But though the Convention was reinſtated on the 4th of September, and at leaſt one-half of the terror by which it had ruled, yet it did not bring back, nor find, the whole of the means or matter upon which it was uſed to act. The inſtruments of its power were blunted and broken, though the power remained undiminiſhed. The thin and weary population of the country had become an inert and heavy maſs, incapable of activity or fermentation: it did not hear the calls of Rewbell and Barras; it did not hail the motions of Bentabole and Boulay; it did not provoke nor welcome the new proſcriptions; even confiſcation and plunder ſlept in its ear. It was evident the people were changed, though the government was the ſame: with the old tyranny, there were different ſlaves. The very ſilence with which they beheld the arreſt and departure of their repreſentatives, the violation of their elections, and the ſuppreſſion of the preſs; the indifference with which

which they received their old convention and the military government, were proofs of the change they had undergone, and the torpor that enveloped them. Beſides that the moſt pernicious principles of the jacobins had been ſolemnly recanted, the great leaders of that party had met the fate of reformers on their own ſcaffolds; many of the ſubalterns had been aſſaſſinated in the provinces by the *Moderates*; many, indeed, were now liberated from the priſons of the departments, but they were yet ſore and ſtiff, and their minds broken or depreſſed: others had diſperſed into the annexed and conquered countries; and the moſt active were employed in the heart of thoſe ſtates at war with France. Many emigrants had returned, and brought back with them the mild manners and temper of happier times: their appearance had influenced the people amongſt whom they ventured, and their innocence of blood, and freedom from all the crimes of all the revolutions, had inveſted their perſons with a kind of

ſanctity

ſanctity and worſhip; ſo that the abſence of jacobiniſm, and the preſence of humanity, had concurred with the ſenſe of intolerable evil, to induce a new ſtate of feeling and opinion, a ſtate of unprofitable ſentiment and indolent deſpair. It appeared, from the laſſitude and dejection of the people, that they were finally ſubdued and proſtrate at the feet of their uſurpers, who did not therefore think it worth their while to change the forms or name of a conſtitution which no one reſpected or regretted, or even thought about at all *.

How it is poſſible from ſo paſſive a diſpoſition, and from a nation ſo broken and

* Boulay de la Meurthe, rendered famous by his motions againſt the nobles, and the part he had taken in the counter-revolution of the 4th of September, obſerves to the council, in his ſpeech of the 24th, ſame month, "*that the people are tired out and fatigued with revolutions, and deſire only to be governed peaceably.*" He propoſes, in conſequence, to give them a fête.

enervated,

enervated, to expect a civil war, I confess my inability to conjecture. It is not only contradictory, as I think, to our experience of what they have endured, but to all just reasoning and combination of the future. In my opinion there are wanting the seeds and principles of a civil war. All the elements of revolt and insurrection are in the hands of the usurper, and in the people there is neither desire of freedom, nor active sense of oppression. The new fanaticism of liberty is extinct, and buried in the same tomb where the zeal and antique faith of Loyalty repose. The monarchy had its 10th of August, the republic has had its 4th of September. If the throne could fall without a civil war, why may not the republic? If the destruction of the most revered and ancient establishments could collect no votaries and arm no party, why should these novel fancies and unprofitable forms? I ask why, even if the people were the same? How much the less then,

then, when the people is effete and dull, desirous of nothing but repose, obedient to every yoke, and indifferent to every system? The ruins of the constitution still remain; but the winds whistle in them, and they are only a shelter for banditti; yet who attacks them? The government holds by occupancy, not by title, yet who claims against it? It rules by will, without pretence of law, yet the people cling to it; it seems something still, because it is tranquillity, a calm and passive state, flattering to the indolence and torpidity of their souls. What does not the memory of past evil render tolerable to mankind? What governments will not the experience of anarchy and revolution rivet on their neck? Civil wars, I think, require not only energy but principle in a people; they must revere their cause, their leader, and themselves; they must feel the justice of their quarrel; they must be confident of their right; they must desire one known

acknowledged end or remedy.—The reſt is the plot of a ſeraglio, or the revolt of a mob. What energy, what principle do we diſcover in this degraded people? what reverence? and for what cauſe? for their leaders or for themſelves? Of all the different points of view in which that extraordinary ſeries of events, which we call their revolution, preſents itſelf to our horror and diſguſt, there is none which ſo forcibly pourtrays the depravity of their country, as that which ſhews it atchieved *without a civil war*. With the exception of almoſt a ſingle province in the Weſt, and, of not the greateſt part of the two privileged orders, the whole body of the nation was paſſive or rebellious: the maſs of the empire was corrupt and tainted: the characters of the human mind effaced or enervated by the general vice. What portions of the people, what members of the ſtate rallied round the throne, the altar, and the laws? Was the ſtandard of religion crowded, was it reared

reared in the capital or the provinces, in the north or the ſouth, or was the weſt oppoſed in arms againſt the eaſt? Shall I be told of that fabulous La Vendée, nurſed and exaggerated by rival factions, denounced and ſaved by common terrors and contending uſurpers? of thoſe commotions, which the pernicious vanity of the nobles and the politic fears of the republicans have almoſt forced upon the credulity of mankind for a civil war? Well, let it be ſo: it is a ſingle department, whoſe generous example failed to excite *one*-other. All the reſt of France was deaf to its voice, or inliſted on the other ſide. A monarchy that had laſted fourteen hundred years, is trampled in the duſt: the croſs thrown down, the Deity renounced, —the king murdered,—all is peaceful and content. And do we think this people will now take up arms for the freedom of an election, or the violation of an article in a conſtitution ſcarce two years old? That they

will fight for Pichegru and Barthélémy, who would not draw a ſword for the Capets or the Bourbons; or defend the goſpel of the conſtitution, who have betrayed and abjured the religion of their forefathers *? Let us rather go back again to our aſſignats, or reſume our march to Paris,—They are ſafer follies than thoſe confident theories of our enemies' calamities and crimes.

I think there is but one ſafe and honourable way of conſidering the ſtate of the French at this period, namely, as poſſeſſing the moſt powerful empire in Europe, placed under the controul of the moſt deſpotic government.—I behold this government wielding the whole phyſical means and power of the nation without moral reſtraint or limit,—employing the whole reſource and population of their coun-

* Even in La Vendée, religion had but a very ſubordinate ſhare in the commotions.

Etat Réél de France, Vol. I. p. 124.

try

try, without obſtacle or embarraſſment from any law, privilege, cuſtom, or immunity? without any ſcruple of their own mind, or fear from the ſpirit of liberty in the public mind. In their conqueſts they are ſtill more (if more is poſſible) uncontrouled, unſcrupulous, and abſolute. The whole univerſal power and produce of the old and new territory, the growth of every field, and the labour of every arm, is placed at the diſcretion and arbitrament of this remorſeleſs ſovereign. Whatever moves or grows upon the whole ſurface of his dominion is his army or his magazine. Whatever *is*, is his. What he leaves is benevolence,—what he ſpares is generoſity:—His half-terror is moderation,—his impriſonments humanity,—his tranſportation tenderneſs of blood. Whatever he abſtains from is his praiſe,—every thing ſhort of its extreme, his merit,—every thing not worſt, his goodneſs. His commands to the councils are his love of liberty; the third part

of

of which he has not deprived the public creditor, is his reſpect for property.—The Redacteur is his freedom of the preſs,—he is judged negatively, and whatever remains unperpetrated of tyranny or avarice, is enjoyed by the people as his virtue and his gift.

The ſame abſolute authority in the government of France has therefore found the people entirely changed; to borrow a word from their own ſtrange vocabulary, it has found them *neutralized*. Enthuſiaſm is not only paſt, but the languor that has ſucceeded to it has overwhelmed every paſſion and every ſenſation, and entirely ſwallowed up all the moral means of government, with the character and the ſpirit of the people. The reſources of the ſtate are doubtleſs only limited by nature herſelf. It poſſeſſes the phyſical power and produce of the whole empire; but in return and atonement, the principle that once animated this enormous maſs is extinct

and

and gone. If ever the people ſhould awake, if ever a moment of energy ſhould return, it will be to ſhake their tyrants from the throne, and decree their government (in whatever form) by a free election of the repreſentative, and new *cahiers*, or inſtructions from the conſtituent. It will then be time to conſider the wiſdom and ſolidity of their inſtitution. In the mean while, I am confident we have nothing new to fear from their *fanaticiſm*. It is in vain to excite even their inveterate envy, and dictate new rancour to their boſom. The ſubſcription for the conqueſt of England, and the loan ſecured upon that event, can never fill, but under ſome mode of application of the principle of terror. It may be called enthuſiaſm, or revenge, but it is nothing but a direct tax impoſed by terror, and paid by prudence and fear. The proprietor throughout the world is upon our ſide, even the preſent order of proprietors in France do not deſire our ruin. The merchants, as they are ſtill called,

whoſe warehouſes were plundered in every commune of the republic on the 4th of January, cannot deſire it *. The proprietors in France, as well as in every corner of the empire, put forth their feeble cries for peace, and deſire the ſtability of a government, without which the very name of property muſt, before this time, have been loſt and forgotten. They turn their eyes, with hope and conſolation, to this mighty power, the ark and citadel of the civilized world, the laſt aſylum of law and order, and the temple of Juſtice and Religion. It is here alone that they perceive the ſacred fire burn bright and pure, and from hence they look for the deliverer. But, ſuppoſing, for a moment, that the conqueſt of theſe mighty kingdoms was the object of their ambition, or a ſpeculation of their avarice; they know our ſtate is yet unhulled,

* Meſſage of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, January 4th.

and

and they ſee us reef againſt the coming ſtorm. They ſee a beginning at leaſt, of reduction and *economy*, which, when extended as it muſt be, and perfected as it ought to be, they know to be the real fortreſs and rampart of our empire. They know we ſhake only with a merchant's fears, and that our ſtateſmen and our ſoldiers pant for that vain experiment, from which alone any peace at all is to be expected at the hands of the preſent deſpotiſm of France.

It is two years ſince I ventured to commit myſelf ſo far as to ſay, that the real obſtacle to peace was the perſonal obſtinacy of the directory, whoſe individual fears, or political apprehenſions, had induced them to conſider it as a perſonal danger, or a public misfortune*. To avoid peace, I remarked the policy of France, in throwing all the conditions of

* Conſiderations, p. 91, et paſſim.

it into preliminaries, and exacting a previous conſent, which would take away all opportunity of diſcuſſion *. I need not, therefore, upon the preſent occaſion, to argue this point, which their ſubſequent conduct at Baſil, at Paris, and at Lille, has fully confirmed and juſtified, but may, rather, aſſume this dread and averſion to peace, as the certain and acknowledged diſpoſition of the directory; becauſe, ſo far from any event's having taken place to diminiſh or impair it, the counter-revolution of the 4th of September muſt have redoubled their hatred and fear of peace, by rendering them equally obnoxious to the juſtice of the republicans and of the royaliſts, and cutting off any hope of pardon in either alternative of a fixed and lawful conſtitution. With theſe oppoſite diſpoſitions, therefore, in the government and the governed, I confeſs it would be natural to look for ſome general exploſion of popular diſcon-

* Conſiderations, p. 91, et paſſim.

tent, though not for a civil war; if the diſpoſition I have already deſcribed, and the habit of ſuffering during ſo many years, and under ſo many different revolutions, did not join with ſo many other cauſes to deſtroy even that expectation.

Having already endeavoured to juſtify, by a long chain of reaſoning, my particular opinion upon this ſubject; and being convinced, that admitting the contrary ſuppoſition, the probability of a civil war in France, would furniſh an argument for procraſtinating peace altogether, inſtead of juſtifying the very dangerous and inſecure terms which we have *projected*; I now proceed to examine the natural capitals of France, with the waſte and expenditure of which ſhe carries on the war, becauſe I think the war and theſe capitals muſt have the ſame conſummation; and that no project of ours, however dangerous and humiliating, will ob-

tain the concurrence of the directory, as long as these capitals supply the materials and aliment of a war which alone maintains their tyranny, and alone retards their retribution. It is true they shake with intestine broils, and that the approaching elections, unless overawed by the military, may give another fugitive majority to the friends of peace. But it is true too, that as long as these anxious criminals remain upon the five thrones of the *ci-devant* republic, they will conspire against every peace, and send, as conspirators against themselves, to Guiana or the guillotine, every friend and lover of peace *. And, it is true also, that it is therefore vain and even absurd in ourselves to entertain a serious thought of any peace at all from them, much less of one

* Mr. Sheridan, in his speech, 5th of January, told the House of Commons, that he should consider the French Directory as guilty of treason to their country, if they were to disband a single soldier in consequence of any peace that could be concluded with the present government of Great Britain.

which

which ſhould be a ſtate of tranquillity and diſarmament.

Looking, therefore, to this ſtate of things, I think nothing worth ſerious enquiry in the ſtate of France, but the capital ſhe poſſeſſes; the fuel and materials of a war, doomed never to expire but with the ſubſtance it conſumes. Having climbed her meridian arch of anarchy, and high in her mid-career of rage and ruin, ſhe has ſet fire to the pillars of the earth, and decreed the general conflagration. Happy for mankind that ſhe has nurſed the flame with ſo much of *her own*. Happy that ſhe fans it ſtill from her own lungs, and ſupplies it with her own cinders. Like the giants of antiquity ſhe has made the war with her fields and ſoil,—She has hurled her foreſts and her mountains at her enemy,—Here ſhe devoted a navy, and there an army,—Here ſhe immolated her commerce, there ſhe ſevered her colonies. Feveriſh with guilty

fears,

fears, and haunted by the furies of her impiety, ſhe lopped her own members, and ſtruck at her own vitals;—one blow amputated her nobility, another her clergy, a third her merchants, a fourth her fleets. Her great meaſures, as ſhe called her great crimes, required now a claſs of age,—now a deſcription of citizens,—now a deſcription of property: and all as ſacrifices and victims; all integrant portions and members of herſelf, and all irrevocably doomed and devoted. Who has heard of bounties for the navy, or the line,—who of lots for the militia? The requiſition ſwept off the population of the country, without detail or diſtinction. Who of finance and taxes? Confiſcation, plunder, auctions, ſupplied every thing. The national property,—the emigrant property,—the church property,—the corporation property,—eſtates, villas, convents, woods, commons, every thing—has been ſold and reſold, plundered and replundered, till the fee-ſimple of the

the nation, till the very ſoil of all France together, has been alienated I know not how often. Is there any longer any property in France? that is to ſay, is there any law or any ſecurity for any poſſeſſion beyond the occupancy of the day? Has any man more in his lands than the uſufruct of them? Is there any ſpecies of wealth ſecure or permanent?—Is there any thing valuable but in proportion to its faculties of conveyance and concealment? No: the whole is under the rapacious hand of the remorſeleſs kings;—under the ſovereign without law and above law. *The Whole* acknowledges and obeys his unlimited phyſical dominion; and in computing his power and means we have nothing to do but to ſubtract from this mighty whole, thoſe calamities and privations which he has inflicted upon his ſtate, or which viſibly approach and hang over it.

From the capital, therefore, of his population, deduct the flower of his fourteen armies,

mies, who have left their bones in the fields and hoſpitals of Lombardy and Germany, a capital he miſſes with faintneſs and debility, and which cannot be repaired from the ſheep's blood of Italy or Flanders, a vile experiment, and perhaps fatal. Deduct two-thirds at leaſt of his manufacturers, and one of his huſbandmen: above ſixty thouſand perſons once employed in the receiving and defrauding of his revenue, five-ſixths of his military and mercantile marine: one half of his nobles and his prieſts, the deplorable and incalculable maſs of infants, of aged, and of women, who have periſhed for want of ſuccours; deduct thoſe who have died in jails and hoſpitals of neglect and famine *; deduct his murdered and his fled †.

Population.

But

* See the confeſſions of the Directory, June 1797, meſſage to Council of Five Hundred. See alſo a book called The Cruelties of the Jacobins, publiſhed in Paris in 1795. It is here ſtated, that two millions of perſons have been maſſacred in France during the Revolution, of which 250,000 are ſaid to have been women, and 230,000 children.

But we muſt not eſtimate his depopulation only by numbers; we muſt conſider how he has broken the chain and ſeries of life by immolating whole claſſes of his youth. How he has waſted his people by uſury and anticipation, taking infants, as it were, at diſcount, and ſatisfying the bonds of the requiſition

children. This calculation does not include any perſons killed in arms.

† Many foreigners have been deceived in this reſpect by the abundance of population in Paris; that capital has, I believe, conſiderably increaſed: in a proclamation of the Directory, February 16, 1796, it is aſſerted that it has increaſed by 150,000 ſouls. The numerical diſproportion of the ſexes, however, is acknowledged by every one I have converſed with, native or foreigner, who has lately been at Paris, to be very ſtriking. But the increaſe of Paris is one of the ſureſt ſigns of the general depopulation. Lyons, Nantes, Rouen, &c. have diminiſhed in a ratio of one-third; and the whole of the departments preſent a very viſible ſpectacle of ſolitude and deſertion: all public works are abandoned; the roads infeſted with robbers; all ſigns, effects, and cauſes of depopulation. The divorces in Paris alone, for the laſt year, amount to 1043; the marriages, which is extraordinary, conſidering that name now embraces every kind of concubinage, to no more than 6538. What cauſes of depopulation!

with intereſt and uſances. How he has ſupplied the inſufficiency of a tender age by number, and repaired individual weakneſs by the general preſs.

From his agricultural capital he has undoubtedly loſt a principal part of his beaſts and the whole of his horſes. The long want of manure has deteriorated his ſoil, and diminiſhed the annual amount of his produce. Of his vintages and oils he has particularly confeſſed the decline. The corn he has imported betrays his deficit in grains, and the values he has paid to neutral nations in ſpecie for it, and for military ſtores, muſt have diminiſhed his capital in money.

Agriculture.

His capital, however, in ſpecie, is preciſely that from which I do not feel inclined to make any very conſiderable deduction, as an abſolute privation; it will, perhaps, in another point of view, come to be ſubſtracted entirely from his

his power, though not from his poſſeſſion, for I am perſuaded it is an exception to the general rule, and is the ſole capital in France not abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the uſurper. Money. It is true that he once was able to reach a very conſiderable part of it, but more I think by the fraud of his aſſignat than the terror of his guillotine. By what the tyrant has already reached, this capital is, doubtleſs, diminiſhed; but the plunder of the conquered countries, together with the contributions and ranſoms of neutral ſovereigns and republics, may have, probably, flowed in with an equal ſtream. Money. It ſeems to me, however, of but little importance; for fear will always, and of neceſſity, conceal the ſigns of riches; and though force may ſometimes extort again their diſcovery, it is but an individual operation, the example of which augments precaution, makes concealment general, and buries the criminal gold ſtill deeper in the ground. The taxes may be demanded once

more in kind, the farmer may tremble again for his ſtacks and his cattle, and the citizen for his ſhoes; all this has been done before, while the capital in ſpecie, alone, lay hidden and ſecure; the hundred arms of the giant Deſpotiſm, that bore off every magazine, and every granary, could not rake up all its holes, nor all the Argus-eyes of Avarice detect its lurking-places; but when a milder order, and a promiſe of a conſtitution, beamed for a moment, it preſently returned; it was diſcovered again in the common uſe and circulation of ſociety. Pale and diſcoloured by the earth, where it had taken refuge, its ſmoaked and dingy hue betrayed its ſecret, and taught the bloody exchequer that it fled from, that gold does not emigrate for ſafety, and that terror in the government is always palſy in the people.

Money.

As this capital poſſeſſes principally the faculties of concealment and removal, it cannot,

not, in times of fear and terror, remain as a common ſign of values, or a meaſure and compariſon of other property. It contains in itſelf that which is then excluſively valuable, the power of lying hid, while every other property is become expoſed to danger preciſely in proportion to its oſtenſibility. Its intrinſic value is not more the cauſe of hiding it, than its power of being hidden is the cauſe of its comparative value. But this compariſon itſelf will be a ſecret and arbitrary tranſaction, wherever it takes place under theſe circumſtances; and there can be no comm on ſtandard of metallic values, unleſs they ſhould come again to be compared againſt ſome ſpecies of credit or paper. However paradoxical it may therefore appear at firſt ſight, I ſhall here deduct entirely the capital of his paper, becauſe, upon the ſuppoſition that the enemy could once more have recourſe to this repreſentation, however falſe, of land or gold, his paper would poſſeſs an ideal

Paper-money.

value

value equal to ſome part of its denomination, and perform ſome of the operations of his buried capital in ſpecie. In deducting, therefore, the whole of this value, whatever it is, I do not eſtimate it as an abſolute diminution of phyſical means, but as the privation of that extraordinary remedy by which he has formerly been able to ſupply them. Conſidering it in any other point of view, it would be more correct to ſtate it as an interception and loſs of his principal branch of revenue and taxation. In the department of finance, it appears to me poſſible, that the uſe of paper may ſtill linger, but it will be for its excluſive accommodation: perhaps the acceleration of ſome payments, and perhaps the anticipation of ſome diſtinct and appropriated funds. But I imagine, notwithſtanding the attempt to put the remaining third part of the public debt into circulation, that a general iſſue of national paper, and a general circulation of it in the empire, is as impoſſible as any thing

can

can be to the bayonet and the executioner; but if the deſpotiſm become ſo intenſe and unqualified, and the new Marats and Roberſpierres differ not even in hypocriſy from the old, they will find it of little uſe to have recourſe to the fraud of aſſignats, and come, perhaps, directly to that ſyſtem I have formerly hinted at, namely, that of taking every tax in kind, and diſpenſing with a circulating medium altogether. The gold they will yet Paper. be able to extort from their individual victims, together with their foreign tribute, will ſuffice for foreign operations, and barter will be the only mode of internal tranſaction *.

The government, therefore, will have little power over the circulating capital of the country, any longer than it preſerves ſome reſpect for its other capitals: it cannot reign over both; and giving it full credit for the

* See Conſiderations, 96.

amount of the whole of thoſe values, I am entitled to deduct alſo the ſum total of that.

Trade. To the deductions I have made from his population and his agriculture, I have to add the almoſt total loſs of his commercial capital, which is either poſſeſſed by this country, under the right of war, or has been ſeized and expended by himſelf, by ſome of thoſe great meaſures by means of which he has carried it on. His commercial companies, his caiſſes of eſcompte, his aſſociations of enterprize, his manufactures, with their magazines, ſtores, wares, &c. and the whole capital by which they were put in operation, have actually diſappeared. I am eſtimating only natural capitals, and therefore do not here ſpeak of the craft, inventions, mechaniſm, &c. by which the operation of this enormous capital was multiplied. It is the real deficit of actual wealth which I am remarking; it is that part of France which the government has already ſpent,

ſpent, and can no longer lay its hands upon. The colonies, the counters in India, the trade with the north of Europe, the fiſheries, the exportation all together, the ſhips of war and commerce, the national demeſnes, the foreſts, have been already expended; at leaſt a tenth part of its population has been duly paid by the great nation, for the conqueſts which are to recruit her; for every hundred of Flemings, Germans, or Italians, that ſhe has incorporated, ſhe has duly paid twenty-five lives of her own ſubjects. If ſhe has acquired ten millions of foreign population, the war and the revolutions which have cauſed and fed the war, have coſt her certainly not leſs than two millions five hundred thouſand Frenchmen. Now it ſeems to me, that during this war, at leaſt, the acquirement is not worth the ſacrifice, even to calculate with the cold and callous Condorcet, that ſhe has not had value for her blood, and that ſhe has made a bad bargain even for her greatneſs.

Conqueſts.

In peace it is otherwiſe; peace may really incorporate, which a decree cannot do; peace may obliterate reſentments, rancour, habits; peace may bring new intereſts, ſpeculations and connexions; peace may, finally, give her ten millions of Frenchmen, inſtead of ſo many indignant foreigners heaving under her yoke, and conſpiring to caſt it off. Inſtead of recruits and plunder, is there no danger that the great nation ſhould, in a ſhort period, draw to herſelf, through them, the commerce of the world; their arts, their induſtry, their capitals; together with their cuſtoms, revenue, and other juſt and permanent ſources of empire? I ſhall ſpeak in another place of the fleets, which three weeks of a perfidious and only nominal peace would enable her to unite in her own ports *; I only preſent her acquiſitions in a peaceful point of view, for a moment, in this eſtimate, to give ſtrength

Conqueſts.

* Part the ſecond.

and

and colour to the true points in which they are to be conſidered during the war.

France maintains ſeverally in Holland and the Ciſ-Alpine republic an army of twenty-five thouſand men, at the expence of theſe reſpective ſtates. As the Chineſe mount guard with the Tartars, a number of Dutch and Lombard troops, equal to the French, are kept on foot in each of theſe republics. Here is a force of one hundred thouſand men, not indeed paid by France, but of which fifty thouſand are part of the French armies. This is certainly not a diſpoſeable offenſive force, at leaſt as far as relates to England; if it were of conſequence, I would contend it was not ſo with reſpect to any power on the Continent. Fifty thouſand French troops, ſedentary in Holland and Italy, afford ſome balance for the recruits ſhe can as yet procure in theſe countries; and the very neceſſity or policy of applying that force in that manner, implies Italy and Holland.

that her preſent advantages there are both incomplete and precarious. Her conqueſts, therefore, in theſe countries, (under whatever name they are made,) do not appear to me to adminiſter ſo many reſources for carrying on the war, as, at firſt ſight, might be apprehended. Their contributions are already ſpent, and the ruin of their trade and credit, with the emigration of the rich, and the danger and concealment of riches, will not give the ſame facility of impoſing freſh ranſoms, upon any new pretext or emergency. The people too are, in a great degree, undeceived and mutinous, and new exactions will require new armies; ſo that what France may ſtill gain by confiſcations, ſhe will loſe in diſpoſeable force, and only ſtrike the equation in diſſimilar but equivalent terms.

Of her ſituation in Belgium I confeſs I am more ignorant from the almoſt total want of communication with thoſe provinces. Whether

Whether they continue to be oppreſſed and exhauſted, or have been ſuffered to reſpire, I know not. But I know from what paſſed at an earlier period of the war of which it was ſo long the ſeat, and of the revolution of which it was ſo cruelly the victim, that in the one caſe the only real reſources which Belgium can adminiſter to France, are from its agriculture, its grains and forage, together with a very few recruits; in the other, a very ſmall quantity of grains with a great many recruits, which the neglect of agriculture, inſeparable from oppreſſion, will more liberally ſupply. From the poſition of theſe provinces in the map, it is eaſy to ſee, that, connecting the ports of France with thoſe of Holland they can have no reſources in foreign commerce, as long as theſe two powers are blockaded in their own harbours. *During the war*, therefore, this conqueſt, the moſt advantageous for France generally, and the moſt ruinous for England in particular, is but of very

Conqueſts. Belgium.

very limited importance. It expects the period of peace and time to coalesce and incorporate, before experience can shew the full crime and folly of our releasing it gratuitously to the conqueror, without holding any of our own acquisitions, either as a deposit to be exchanged for it, at a favourable opportunity, or a relative compensation and security.

Foreign relations.

With regard to the foreign relations of the republic, it would lead me into a very wide field, and very far from that path to which I have confined the present enquiry, if I were to examine them distinctly. Its continental relations will be implicitly considered in another place, under the head of plunder and contribution * : and I should omit a more particular enquiry altogether, if it were not for the late atrocities committed against the public law, and the rights of ambassadors, and the freedom of navigation, in consequence

* Second Part.

of

of which, the Republic, I ſhould imagine, muſt be ſuddenly deprived of whatever reſources might ſtill have remained to her from foreign commerce and neutral connexions. I have carefully abſtained (excepting in one neceſſary inſtance) from preſenting the moral picture of the country; but when I behold the ſultans of the Luxembourg committing the ambaſſador of Portugal priſoner to their Seven-Towers, when I hear them refuſe to receive the miniſters of America till they have purchaſed their admiſſion at the price of 400,000 dollars, I cannot omit to remark, that their foreign relations are *nothing*, excepting thoſe alone where the terror of their arms and the corruption of their principles has unnerved and diſſolved the energy of the human character. When I ſee them pillage every magazine in every commune of their empire, of what they call Engliſh manufactures, and transfer, by a decree of their paramount authority over all

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the laws and conventions of nations, the
Commerce. neutral privilege from the ſhip to the cargo *, that is, effectually become privateers and pirates, cruiſing againſt every flag and every nation, then I am obliged to conſider theſe acts as a virtual renunciation of all legitimate intercourſe and commercial communication with the maritime powers of Europe, and to ſet down this article under the head of their privations.

Commerce. The plunder of the warehouſes is no mean inſtance of the phyſical dominion of the directory; it affords a ſtrong confirmation of

* The late edict of the five Lawgivers takes away the protection of the neutral flag altogether, and confiſcates the ſhip's bottom, if it has enemies property on board. Every mercantile veſſel of every nation, therefore, is good prize; for it is impoſſible they can return without cargoes, though they ſhould bring nothing Engliſh with them. We manufacture for almoſt all Europe, even for France herſelf; the Eaſt and Weſt-India commodities are almoſt entirely Britiſh property, and will now ſubject every ſhip to condemnation. How fortunate for Europe that France has no navy!

the

the poſition I have laid down, and leads by rapid ſteps the agent of government from the counter and the magazine into the vineyard and the farm. It is in vain for the French orators to contend, and it would be uſeleſs to ſucceed in that abſurdity, that the meaſure is not of a revolutionary nature, and that it is lawful in war to ſeize the goods of an enemy. Theſe merchandizes have long ceaſed to be the property of Engliſhmen. They have been paid for long ſince by the Swede, the Dane, or the American, who had undertaken to ſupply the neceſſities of France with commodities with which ſhe is ot able to diſpenſe. How many decrees, meſſages, arrêtés, aſſociations, and menaces, have already proved nugatory upon this object alone? The property, however, is either neutral or French; French, if it has been paid for to the importer; if not, neutral. I am ſpeaking of the thing itſelf, not of the right, which is French in either caſe. The

executive government enters into every warehouſe throughout the whole empire upon the ſame day*, and plunders every commodity which its officers are pleaſed or directed to call Engliſh, and the meaſure is not revolutionary? No, certainly, it is conſtitutional, in the trueſt and fulleſt ſenſe: it is of the very nature and eſſence of the conſtitution itſelf; not irregular, not eccentric, not extraordinary; it is the true legitimate undoubted iſſueof a conſtitution of publicterror, rapine, and baniſhment; of a government of uſurpers and robbers; of a ſyſtem of armed fraud and perfidious deſpotiſm. It is the law of emancipated France, and the privilege of victorious Frenchmen.

What ſymptom of rebellion do we yet perceive? what holy inſurrection, what cry of liberty have we heard againſt this broad and

* 4th of January, 1798.

general

general act of tyranny, which pervades every province, and tries every ſpirit? What ſign even of pain or impatience, what movement of indignation, what turnings and toſſes of rage or deſperation do the milleniſts of the civil war diſcover in the people? What ſigns of the coming of this *deliverer?* Do they not ſee the directory torture a carcaſe from which the vital breath has eſcaped? Do they not ſee that the life has been pinched and pricked out of it; that they make the war, with the dead and mortified limbs of the empire, which they cannot wield, and which have neither life, nor ſtrength, nor motion in themſelves?

Theſe are the points which appear to me almoſt excluſively worthy of conſideration in the actual poſition of that unhappy country. This is the glorious ſituation of the great nation unenvied by the wretcheſt of her ſlaves, and an object of pity to the fierceſt of

her enemies. The peace of Udina has muffled her drums, and we can now hear her ſhrieks and murmurs from within. Her own eyes are withdrawn from the bloody theatre where they gazed with tranſport, as if ſhe forgot her own miſery at the ſpectacle of human ſuffering, and charmed her calamities with the ſcreams and cries of foreigners. Her evil genius, which ſhe ſent forth to prowl in other countries, and ſcourge and whip mankind, is returned into her own boſom. The pauſe of arms has turned her attention on herſelf, and opened to the full view of ſtrangers ſcenes of internal wretchedneſs, which ſhe in vain attempted to hide with her military wall. It has opened the flat unbounded vale of equal miſery and undiſtinguiſhable ruin, which ſhe thought to hide behind her foreſt of ſoldiers. It has ſhewn the population of her hoſpital, and the treaſure of her wreck.

Behold

Behold the people whoſe prepoſterous government affects the empire of the ſeas, without a ſhip of war that dares look out of her harbours, and threatens her enemies with her own ruin and calamities! To me, I confeſs, the menaces of the French appear like thoſe of other madmen. The ravings of the Luxembourg are like the ravings of the Bicêtre—Do this, or give me that, or I will ſtab or drown myſelf. Yield to me, ſays France, or—what? I will come and periſh on your ſhores:—throw down your arms, or I will daſh myſelf upon your coaſts;—worſhip me, or I will devote hecatombs of my own children;—acknowledge my ſuperiority, or I will tear out my own vitals! This I conſider as the real ſenſe and meaning of her ſtate papers, of her public declarations, if that can be called ſenſe and meaning, which is the very paroxyſm of delirium and folly. —I cannot dread the madneſs of an enemy, I think it rather our own ſafety and our own

arms.

arms. Can I ſee with trepidation or regret his legions rotting in the marſhes of Calais and Oſtend, or blighted upon the bleak hills of Normandy? Can I regard 'the army of England,' but as our glory and our prize, if ever (I know not by what help from heaven or from hell) it were to be embarked upon the Channel? Shall we heſitate to provoke, and call, with our prayers at leaſt, that glorious iſſue of the war, in which we may all partake; but which, without ſome power above us ſhall obſcure and worſe-confound, and impel the enemy upon his ruin, we dare not hope for? When the firſt Gaul was at the foot of the Capitol, when the ſenate and the people, the liberty and the gods of Rome were beſieged in a ſingle citadel, and the very name of a nation, deſtined to the empire of the world, hung doubtful upon the iſſue, the Roman did not deſcend to meet him there? but waited with ardent hope till he had climbed the glacis, then drove him

down the ſteep Tarpeian with reſiſtleſs impulſe and accumulating ruin; and muſt not we have courage to expect him on theſe fatal ſhores, where the armada was wrecked, and from every cliff of which we have beheld his fleets led captive towards our harbours, and the ocean covered with his fragments and his ſhame?

We hear of Rome and Carthage every day and in every debate, even to puerility and pedantry, but without profiting much, I think, either as to policy or magnanimity, from their example. It ſeems, however, certain, that if Carthage could have anticipated events, or have lived over again her own hiſtory, ſhe would not have been ſubdued and extirpated a ſecond time. We, therefore, who have the advantage of her experience, and can contemplate along with her ruin the cauſes of it, ought to bring this war to a very different iſſue and concluſion than ſhe did;

did; our enemies too, thoſe dottrels and apes of Rome, might at leaſt profit enough by the ſame knowledge, to deſpair of ſucceſs by the preſent means: for had Carthage diſplayed that vigour before ſhe had given up her hoſtages, her fleets and her arms, which ſhe did after, the event of the conteſt could not have been the ſame. The modern Romans, therefore, have acted with impolicy and abſurdity, in pawning our lands, and aſſigning our revenues, and raiſing loans upon our commerce and our property, and dooming our crown and liberty, before we have made thoſe ſurrenders which Carthage made; becauſe they have placed us in the ſituation in which Carthage would have been if Rome had made theſe declarations to her? in which Carthage would have kept, like us, her fleets, her arms, her fortreſſes, and her Hannibal; and in which the event of the Carthaginian war muſt have been different from what it was.

Theſe,

Theſe, therefore, are the objects to which I would direct the attention of Engliſhmen at the preſent moment. When they hear the loud and lofty threats of their intemperate enemy, they ſhould hear his groans alſo; when they ſee his hoſts gather on the hills of Brittany, they ſhould ſee, at the ſame time, the hollowneſs of his center: they ſhould *deſpiſe with prudence*, as their fathers did, the vanity and inſolence of a people, whoſe coloſſal greatneſs has hitherto been equalled and ſubdued by the moral greatneſs of their own country; they ſhould conſider their impotent menaces but as a challenge to the ſolid and ſober virtues which have ſo often defeated them; and contraſt once more, with confidence and pride in heaven, and in themſelves, the ſterling ingenuous worth and valour of the Britiſh character, to the drunken cries and fury of a multitude, deſtined to feed the fiſhes of our ſeas, or to take nothing from us but our priſons and our graves.

Theſe are the points upon which I would wiſh to fix the attention of the Britiſh public: I think it is impoſſible to conſider them without feeling inſtantly all thoſe proud and conſoling ſentiments which ought to make us bear patiently *our ſhare in the general calamity which the ambition of France has let looſe upon mankind.* That our governors have not been able to defend us from every attack upon every ſide; that we have been in this place infected by the moral peſtilence, and in that have ſuffered from the natural evil; that here we have breathed the poiſon of her principles, and there oppoſed our treaſure and our blood to the violence of her fleets and armies; in ſhort, that we are at war, and feel ſome of the ills inſeparable from war, does not appear to me, I confeſs, to be matter of juſt crimination or reproach againſt a government of human counſels, and compoſed of human beings. That we have not been uniformly proſperous; that we have

not been entirely exempted from the broad comprehenſive miſchief; that we too have ſuffered in the tempeſt; that the earthquake has ſhaken our cities alſo; might be objected as a crime to thoſe gods or ſaints, whom the ſavages and idolators that worſhip them are accuſtomed to ſcourge and whip under their own ſufferings and misfortunes; but cannot be imputed to men by man, nor by heaven itſelf to the counſels of human beings, and the limited faculties of human ſenſe. The revolution of France is the wreck of the moral world, and the conqueſts of France are the diſſolution and deſtruction of the political order. When I ſee what entire and integrant maſſes of both the king's miniſters have preſerved from the general ruin, I confeſs my general gratitude, though I too can diſcern, perhaps, where to lay the finger of blame, or to direct the eye of enquiry. But when I perceive that our arms are victorious in every quarter of the globe, and that at home we have ſtill

the bleſſing of our invaluable conſtitution; that our religion, our laws, and our property, *are* maintained and reſpected under it; that *we are protected, and are free*; that we are independent as a nation, and, as individuals, enjoy a degree of civil liberty, of which I defy the moſt learned diſcontent, and the moſt ingenious democracy, to ſhew me a parallel in any of the old republics, at leaſt in times of preſſure and anxiety; when I eſtimate what they have defended and preſerved for us, and how great a ſhare of our greateſt calamities the fury of the elements and the ſcythe of inviſible and reſiſtleſs death muſt divide with their errors and their overſights, then I think that I could not withhold from them ſome expreſſions of applauſe and thankfulneſs, without injury to the public, as well as injuſtice to them; and though I cannot ſuppreſs, conſiſtently with what I feel as a public duty, my wiſhes and my arguments for loftier counſels in the termination

tion of this dreadful conteſt, and for a ſtricter economy in the conduct of it, it would be diſingenuous upon that account to withhold the little honour it is in my power to confer upon them, or to conceal the ſentiments with which I imagine every unprejudiced mind will compare and reward their miſtakes and their merits.

END OF PART I.

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